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ABSTRACT

The principalship was studied from the perspective of newly appointed principals in the highly bureaucratized urban context of New York City. Their attitudes, goals, and role and leadership behaviors and the effects of the school-system context were studied. Interviews were conducted with 12 principals from one Pre-K-1, seven elementary and three middle schools in 9 districts. Seven principals were female, and five were African American. The paradigms of leadership that these principals described included aspects of different approaches to the principal's role. Because their intentions and actions reflected different paradigms, it was difficult to categorize their behaviors. Principals who were most efficacious were distinguished by their sense of efficacy and their success in adopting principles of situational leadership. In terms of context, principals were differentiated by the level of support that they received in the schools. Socioeconomic status and school conditions per se had little effect on sense of efficacy, but those with high efficacy did receive support from multiple sources. Efficacious principals demonstrated the basis for transformational leadership: individual consideration. Two tables and two figures present study findings. (Contains 29 references.) (SLD)

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Principals in an Urban Bureaucracy: The First Years

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Research Context

Over the last twenty years, efforts to improve the quality of education at the school level have focused on the principal. Recognizing the significance of the leadership role, reform efforts have focused on the need to improve the quality of principal performance. As a result, in recent years, there has been a nationwide growth in the number of principal centers, tightening of certification requirements, and modification of administrative preparation programs at the university level.

One strategy for improving principal performance has been to encourage the development of more innovative conceptions of the role or new leadership paradigms. Over time, concepts of the principalship have gradually evolved. Where once the principal was expected to manage a school so that teachers could function within the context of their individual classrooms, now principals are encouraged to be leaders rather than administrators, and to work in a collaborative way with teachers, parents, students and community to shape a common vision and to transform the very nature of the school as an educational institution.

Research on the principalship suggests that the leadership roles that principals adopt do make a difference in determining school outcomes. Research has also begun to identify behaviors and patterns of behaviors that are particularly significant in determining school effectiveness. Research initiated by Edmonds (1979), Brookover and Lezotte (1979) identified a cluster of behaviors common to effective principals. Reviewing that and subsequent research, Leithwood Begley, and Cousins (1990) described these commonalities as follows: highly effective principals demonstrated high levels of commitment to goals for the school. They articulated an overall vision for the school, established high standards for goals achievement, and actively worked toward development of widespread agreement concerning such standards.

Subsequent research that examined effective principal strategies in different social

contexts found that while principals in low and middle socioeconomic status schools used different strategies, that certain effective school characteristics should be found regardless of socioeconomic status (Teddlie & Stringfield, 1993; Hallinger and Murphy, 1987). These characteristics include a clear academic mission and focus, orderly environment, high time on task, and frequent monitoring of student progress.

Moving beyond the notion of effective school leadership, Leithwood (1993) argues that transformational leadership is essential for effective school change. While the predominant model for the principalship has been that of instructional leadership, Leithwood argues that this model is no longer adequate to respond to the challenges confronting school leaders. Instructional leadership, he maintains, focuses primarily on first order changes, or changes in core technology. The singular emphasis on the introduction of instructional changes ignored the importance of second order changes, changes in the nature of the organization itself. To insure the survival of programmatic changes requires attention to second order change and the failure to attend to reform at this level accounts for much of the failure of reform efforts. Thus, Leithwood argues, transformational leadership is essential to effective school restructuring: "Second order change requires a form of leadership that is sensitive to organization building: developing shared vision, creating productive work cultures, distributing leadership to others and the like." (1993, p. 8)

Leithwood's work also identifies seven distinctive behaviors that characterize transformational leadership. Transformational leaders:

1) identify and articulate a vision (identifying new opportunities for school and developing, articulating and inspiring others with vision of the future)

2) foster acceptance of group goals: promoting cooperation among staff and assisting them to work together toward common goals;

3) convey high performance expectations:

4) provide appropriate models, set an example

5) provide intellectual stimulation: challenges staff to re-examine some of the

assumptions about their work and to rethink how it can be performed.

6)provide individualized support: concern about feelings and needs

7) engage in behaviors that develop a strong school culture: behavior that reinforces beliefs, norms and values concerning primacy of service to students, continuous professional learning and collaborative problem solving.

These transformational leader practices, and specifically vision building and practices fostering commitment to group goals, have significant effects on school conditions in the school, progress with school restructuring initiatives, and teacher commitment to change (Leithwood 1993).

What principals do- their practice-is a direct consequence of the beliefs, values, intentions and understandings that they bring to their roles. Sergiovanni(1991) among others emphasizes the importance of understanding these conceptions or "mindscapes" and how this understanding of principal behavior as intentional action digresses from the past where "leadership was typically understood as a form of behavior separate from intents and meanings."

Internal conceptions and intentions as well as actions and the effectiveness of those actions, however, are influenced by a variety of external factors (Argyris & Schon, 1974; Barnett, 1990; Kottkamp, 1982; Leithwood et al., 1990; Leithwood, 93) Leithwood & Steinbach in press) Schon, 1983; Sergiovanni, 1991). In the context of the school principalship, the principal's education, experience, and personal background constitute one set of important variables that may influence role conception and role behavior. Also important is the social context in which the principal functions. Examining the interplay between role behavior and context, Teddlie and Stringer (1993) concluded that schools from different contexts require different strategies for success and Leithwood (1993) argues that effective leadership behaviors are situationally determined to a significant degree. The principalship is a middle management position; the organizational, political and social contexts in which principals work influence the ways they exercise leadership and the effectiveness of their

leadership attempts. We know, for example, that factors such as role definitions, expectations, and structural and cultural characteristics of the school system, the school, and the community affect leadership practices (Lortie, 1988; Marshall & Mitchell, 1991; Sussman, 1986; Miles and Louis, 1990). These factors external to the principal interact with an individual's mental processes and states (knowledge and beliefs, attitudes, feelings and skills) and affect the nature and effectiveness of principals' practices (Crow, 1991; Hallinger & Murphy, 1987; Hart, 1991, 1993; Leithwood et al., 1990, Leithwood, 1993). Based on their review of the literature on the principalship from 1974 to 88, Leithwood et al. (1990) concluded that there is currently little research that "explores relationships among external influences, internal states and principals' practices and that such research would help us understand how effective practice develops, a crucial matter about which current research has little to say" (p. 22).

Both the absence of and need for research in this area seems particularly important with respect to the new principalship. The first few years of the principalship are critical in influencing administrative leadership practice (Hart, 1991, 1993). During the entry period, principals try to exert their leadership and function in a way consistent with their personal values and professional training. Simultaneously, they experience pressures from subordinates, superiors, and the community to act in a way consistent with their expectations. Leaders may influence their organizations, but the reverse is also true. New principals enter schools and districts with clearly defined and distinctive cultures. Like new teachers, they are socialized to fit rather than the reverse. Thus, both personal and organizational features influence the socialization process and the development of conceptions of the role.

Although we know a great deal about effective practice, we know little about the way in which effective practices emerge in the early years of the principalship. In particular, we have limited knowledge of the work life and demands that new principals face (Parkay & Hall, 1992); and even less knowledge of the demands confronting urban principals. Among studies of new principals, there is little attention to the unique needs and conditions confronting elementary and secondary principals in a highly bureaucratized and ethnically and

socioeconomically diverse urban environment. Parkay and Hall's recent nationwide study, for example, focuses on secondary principals who were predominantly white (90%) males (85%) located in rural (60%) and suburban (21%) schools.

Purpose of The Study

The purpose of this study was to develop a broad understanding of the principalship from the perspective of newly appointed principals in a highly bureaucratized urban context in an effort to identify those factors that support or restrict principals efforts to engage in school reform efforts. The questions for the study were as follows:

1) How did principals define their roles when they entered the principalship? What were their intentions: what did they hope to achieve? What strategies did they adopt in their efforts to realize their goals, and why? What were their leadership paradigms, and specifically to what extent did they reflect transformational beliefs?

2) Were the principals successful in achieving their goals and in enacting their intended paradigms?

3) What were the factors that influenced their role behavior, and what factors supported or restricted their success in achieving their goals or in enacting their intended paradigms?

The study reflected the following assumptions:

1) What principals do, the actions in which they engage, is a function of their intentions and beliefs. Principal behavior, then, is not simply a sequence of observable acts, but intentional action: acts shaped by intentions and beliefs or their paradigms of leadership.

2) Principal behavior, consisting of intention, beliefs and actions, is influenced by contextual factors: personal background and the organizational and social context.

The Study

In September, 1991, 216 new principals began their tenure in the New York City public school system. During the preceding summer, the Board of Education had offered an early retirement package that precipitated the departure of over 200 school principals. The Board contracted with the Leadership Center at Bank Street College of Education to offer a mentoring

and professional development program to the 32 community school districts. Consequently, almost 75% of the new principals in 21 New York City districts participated in the New Principals Program (Osterman, Crow,and Rosen, 1993). In addition to its program of service to the new principals, the Leadership Center initiated a longitudinal study of principal socialization. The first phase of the study consisted of a survey distributed to the newly appointed principals containing 38 open-ended and closed questions with the intent of developing an initial comprehensive descriptive profile. The present study is an analysis of in-depth follow-up interviews with twelve principals who completed the initial questionnaire.

Sample Selection

Since one of the purposes of the study was to examine leadership behavior as a function of internal conception or leadership paradigm and various factors in the social context, the sample was based on the way principals defined their role conceptions in response to a question in the original questionnaire: According to your own standards, what does a principal need to do to be 'effective'? Question #16 was also referred to as additional support: "Based on your own experiences and observations, describe briefly what a principal needs to do to be perceived as effective by each of the (3) influential groups (most influential, second most influential, third most influential) you selected in Question 15 (District Superintendents, Local School Board, Parents and Community, Teachers and Professional Staff, School-based Management Teams, Teachers' Union, Students)." The responses were divided into three categories: the traditional, the effective schools' model, and the transformational leader. Principals categorized as traditional emphasized strong leadership, discipline, standardized test scores, and school safety; the effective schools' model was based on predominant focus on at least four of the following: goals and/or mission, high expectations, school climate, an orderly learning environment, strong instructional leadership, and the monitoring of pupil progress; the transformation leader spoke of a vision, the primacy of collaboration, and the need to work as a community.

The final choice of interviewees from among these categories was limited by school district demographics, district hiring policies, the number, completeness, and distribution of

the questionnaire responses, and the accessibility of the responders. First, the New York City community school districts vary greatly in size. In addition, a good number of districts have an established policy of not hiring the Interim Acting Principal in the building in which s/he is serving, ostensibly to avoid favoritism. For example, the relatively small size of the Manhattan districts combined with the policy of not hiring the Interim Acting Principal in the same building in at least three Manhattan districts all but eliminated the possibility of interviewing Manhattan principals. The only Manhattan principal to surface in our selection process had not been appointed in the building. After numerous attempts to contact and set up appointments with two principals, we had to conclude that they did not want to be interviewed. Finally, we eliminated some incomplete or illegible questionnaires.

Sample

The study is based on interviews with 12 principals selected from 9 of the 21 participating districts: three of the districts were in Queens , three in Brooklyn, and two in the Bronx . Although three principals are located in one district, and two in another, each surfaced in different leadership categories. Besides the aforementioned circumstances, this analysis does not draw further conclusions on the geographical distribution of the responders.

Seven of the principals are female, five male. Five are African American and seven are Caucasian. The group is somewhat representative of the questionnaire responders, except for the lack of Latino principals who comprise 18% of the new principal respondents. Women constitute 58% of the new principals while 61% identify themselves as Caucasian and 19% African American.

The study includes three middle schools, seven elementary schools and one Pre-K-1 site. The schools range in size from an elementary school with 1800 students to the early childhood center with 200 students. With respect to socioeconomic status, four of the schools serve communities that are very low; five low to low middle , and three middle. The very low classification refers to communities with a high percentage of unemployment and high incidence of social problems. The low to middle communities included a representation of blue collar

working families; the middle communities were primarily working families, blue or white collar and professionals. Several of the schools were located in neighborhoods that were changing rapidly from Caucasian to mixed communities. For the most part, the student populations in the school were ethnically and racially mixed. Six of the schools served schools of predominantly African American and Latino populations; two were predominantly Caucasian; two predominantly Asian and 1 a mix of Caucasian and Latino.

Insert Table 1 about here

The largest elementary schools range from a high of 1800 children of very low socioeconomic status, 60% Latino and 40% African American, continuing with a 1200 student low socioeconomic African American and Caribbean elementary site, a very overcrowded 1172 low-middle and low socioeconomic status student body composed of 54.8% Latino, 20.5% Caucasian, 17.3% Asian, and 7.4% African American children, to a more moderate-sized school of 800 comprised of 70% African American and 30% Latino very low socioeconomic status children. There are four moderate-sized (by New York City standards) elementary schools, all located in Queens: a 600 student body comprised of 59% Asian, 20% Caucasian, 15% African American, and 6% Asian high and moderate socioeconomic status children, another school with 665 children of high and moderate socioeconomic status: 70% Caucasian, 16% Asian, 10% Latino, and 4% African American. The third school has a total of 521 students of mostly moderate socioeconomic status: 48% Asian, 26% Caucasian, 22% Latino, and 4% African American. The last of the moderate-sized group has 519 children of low/moderate socioeconomic status with 48% Caucasian, 24% Latino, 20% Asian, and 8% African American. The smallest elementary school has 200 children in Pre-k to first grade. All are of very low socioeconomic status and are Latino or African American. The three middle schools are all relatively large, ranging from 1200 African American and Caribbean students in a low socioeconomic working class area, to 1138 moderate socioeconomic status students with 45% of

Caucasian origin, 45% Latino and African American, and 10% Chinese, and finally, 950 middle-school children in a very low socioeconomic are of 35% Latino and 65% African American origin. All of the schools with a middle-class group had changing populations (the Queens schools and one Brooklyn site), and a few of the schools were very overcrowded.

Background and Experience. All of the principals came from within the New York City public school system. Most of the principals were first chosen as Interim Acting principals by the district superintendent because of the unexpected retirements, which means they were not initially officially appointed. Subsequently, they were appointed through the city-wide C-30 process. The first level of the C-30 process is an interview with representatives of the school community: parents, teachers, a Council of Supervisors Association (CSA) representative, the UFT chapter chair, and a district office representative. The next level varies according to the individual district; at least three recommended candidates are interviewed by the superintendent who then makes his or her non-binding recommendation to the community district school board.

Nine of the twelve principals were chosen from a position within the same district, although many of them had previous experience in other school districts. Six of the nine intradistrict appointees were promoted from within the same building. Four principals had substantial district office experience; however, only one came directly from a district office position and another district office coordinator spent the previous year as a building principal. All the principals had administrative experience, but the range was from "unofficial assistant principal," district office coordinator, to several years as assistant principal.

Data Collection

The principals were interviewed in their offices. Each interview lasted approximately one and a half hours. In each case, the principals provided a tour of the building following the interviews. The interviewed was developed around 5 main questions:

1. What was your experience before you became principal and how were you appointed?

2. When you became principal, did you have ideas about what you wanted to accomplish and how they could best accomplish their goals? What were those ideas and have they changed? What

accounts for the changes?

3. During the first years, what have you tried to accomplish? Where have you been most successful/unsuccessful?

4. What accounts for success/ lack of success?

5. What were the most important sources of support?

6. What were the major obstacles?

With respect to support and obstacles, if the respondent did not provide the information, we probed to examine the role of district, teachers, staff, parents, community, and the Bank Street Mentor program.

Data Analysis

Grounded Theory procedures and techniques were the basis for our qualitative research(Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The research question identifying the phenomenon to be studied on which grounded theory is based was:"Based on the role definitions or intentions of newly appointed principals in a highly bureaucratized urban context, what factors support or restrict their efforts to engage in school reform efforts?" The first step was a literature review primarily of the technical literature that served as background material and theoretical and conceptual support. Next, followed open coding with the conceptualization of the data by naming similar phenomena and categorizing them e..g., principal predecessor as mentor in the category of support. An example of a property or dimension of this category was the mentor as role model or model of effective practices. Axial coding, which involves relating subcategories to a category, proceeded. Inductive and deductive thinking was involved at this stage. For example, the transactional, effective schools, and transformational models were originally employed to categorize the models of leadership. As the analysis proceeded, a distinction between the "intentions" and "actions" emerged that resulted in the creation of leadership categories based on a continuum of principal behaviors. Thus, the deductive models ended up informing an inductive process. The conclusions drawn are on the level of a substantive theory because of the limited situational contexts studied.

Findings

Role Conceptions

In the initial analysis of the data, it was difficult to develop categories that would capture the differences that were reflected. There were only two cases in which the principal behavior seemed to represent a single paradigm. In these cases, there was a consistency between the intentions, beliefs or theories, and actions. In many of the cases, however, there was an inconsistency-a mixed metaphor. While some principals espoused transformational concepts of leadership, their actions and their intentions seemed somewhat contradictory. In one situation, a principal's described herself in very traditional terms but described strategies that were clearly transformational. In others, principals described themselves as collaborative leaders but provided evidence that the rationale for this strategy was rooted in more traditional concepts of the principalship. Leithwood's(1993) emphasis on intentional differences between the transformational and instructional leadership models proved to be very useful in understanding and categorizing role conceptions or paradigms of leadership. Transformational leaders, he argues, are motivated by a desire or intention to create a high level of commitment to school improvement. Instructional leaders, in contrast, are motivated by a desire to achieve control , usually in relationship to specific instructional or curricular objectives. This emphasis on the underlying strategy provided the frame for the following analysis.

Focusing on strategies and intent, we classified three principals as transformational. Not only did they engage in the behaviors identified by Leithwood (1993) but they also engaged in those behaviors out of a belief that it was essential to engage teachers in the process of restructuring. Seven other principals integrated transformational and instructional characteristics. While they espoused and adopted certain transformational strategies, those strategies were adopted for a specific purpose and that purpose was to enable them to realize personal or district expectations. In two cases, the principals included top-down mandates among their strategies although they indicated a preference for collaborative decision-making.

One principal's role conception combined instructional and transactional perspectives.

While she envisioned herself as an instructional leader who would work in a collaborative fashion with teachers and parents, her beliefs about leadership and the strategies she employed were transactional. Another principal envisioned himself as a transactional leader and his actions were highly congruent with this conception. His purpose was to run a good school to serve children. To achieve that goal, he defined a strong leader role whose objective was to develop procedures that would motivate and make it possible for teachers to succeed. His interaction with teachers was very positive. He viewed them as extremely critical to the school's success and provided opportunities for them to provide input regarding problems, but, at the same time, his emphasis was on strong principal leadership directed toward the accomplishment of district and personal goals. There was no indication that teachers would play a role in shaping vision or determining how that vision would be realized.

The final principal combined transactional and transformational concepts. At one level, she appeared to be traditional in her perspective. She described herself as a tough, aggressive, leader who was willing to do whatever was needed to move the school forward, including making unpleasant decisions. Toward this objective, her overwhelming priority was to enrich the school through the development of new programs. The rationale for her decisions, however, was rooted in transformational concepts. In addition to this, however, she had a long-range agenda to motivate teachers and students and to encourage them to assume responsibility for what was taking place in the school. The emphasis on new programs was intended to hold out the hope of success for teachers and students, to show them that things are possible in this school. In addition, she made structural changes in the school intended to support that long range agenda. For example, she restructured meetings and made intentional efforts to share information openly within the school community as a means of breaking down cliques and facilitating interaction and the development of community.

Factors Influencing Role Conceptions

One of the purposes of the study was to examine the development and evolution of role behavior. In the analysis, several factors emerged: Personal experience, specifically role

models and ideas; district expectations; and school conditions: academic success, school culture, organizational conditions, and social conditions.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Role models. For 8 of these principals, their beliefs about effective leadership were shaped through their experience with one or more individuals: former principals, district officials, or family members - in one instance a mother, in another a husband. With the exception of one principal who described a can-do mother who raised and educated 14 children in poverty, the others identified either a principal(4) or district administrator (1). The models were not always perfect nor complete, but they did influence them in important ways. For the most part, these models were administrators who cared for kids and were able to work effectively with staff. In 5/6? instances, this individual modeled behavior that was congruent with their own role conception, but in other instances the principals diverged somewhat accepting values and purpose but not necessarily style. One principal described her mentor and predecessor in the following way: He was my mentor but we had completely different styles. He was a benevolent dictator and not always so benevolent- he would give it to you. But he loved the kids which came across and he wouldn't settle for less than excellence no matter whose kid it is." Regarding his dealings with teachers, however, she was somewhat critical: There were some people who could do no wrong, there were some people who could do no right. That's no good either." Another principal, also referring to a benevolent despot, admired him "because everything he did, every decision he made was made with educationally sound things in mind. And I took that part."

For the most part, models were individuals who were able to work effectively and collaboratively with staff and people whose bottom line was kids. One other principal had a model regarding the managerial aspects of the job but no one who modeled the instructional leadership style that she envisioned. In this school, much of her time and attention focused on

predominantly administrative tasks such as establishing policies and regulations, clarifying role descriptions and expectations, and handling space and inventory problems. Another principal who could not identify a model was able to learn some administrative techniques from his predecessor but rejected her leadership in all other regards. As we will discuss later, those principals who seemed most comfortable with their own leadership styles had clear and successful role models in mind.

Universities and Ideas. Two principals talked positively of their experience in administrative certification programs. For one, the opportunity to do a full-time internship over a six month period as part of the program directly led to appointment as principal. When talking about influences on their role behavior, no one specifically identified university programs, but their thinking clearly reflected current trends in educational administration. Aside from the almost universal commitment to non-traditional instruction- cooperative learning, whole language, experiential learning, and heterogeneous grouping, principals also talked about the role of information and communication in problem solving processes, described their use of symbolism, and evidenced a familiarity with the concepts of collaborative leadership. One principal had a doctorate and also taught teacher education courses. She, too, was directly bringing current thinking into the building.

For two, ideas, but not formal education, played an important part in shaping behavior. In one instance, the ideas came through conversations with a spouse: " my husband's a manager and he always gave me books about theory x/theory y, quality esprit, and I used to talk to him about what's wrong with education and he'd say, 'you know, a lot of what's wrong with education are the things that are going on in corporate America. You can't transpose them completely - but some of the elements can be transposed.'" The other attributed her role conception to her own personal reading: "I'm a reader. I do a lot of reading of the research. I have friends who are educators and all my life I've been interested in the educational process."

District Expectations. In some cases, the district seemed to play an important role in shaping role behavior: indirectly through the selection process and directly through

supervision. To the extent that the district establishes expectations, there was a correlation between district expectations and principal behavior: the principals adopt and attempt to conform to perceived expectations. The processes that the principals adopted relative to those goals differed, and reflected district expectations, the principals' understanding of the school context, and individual beliefs and values. Principals in three of the nine districts represented in the sample expressed a clear understanding of how principals were expected to function. Three principals from the same district, for example, all discussed the expectation that they would work in a cooperative, collaborative manner with staff and parents. One principal explained that the district expected her to be aggressive in developing programs: to be "tough, really tough" in managing the school but willing to accept and work with people. The other principal described the need to educate and love kids, to deal with parents and the day to day issues- political and non-political- and to cause no embarrassment. Another principal explained that the district wanted someone who would get along, but a colleague in the same district focused only on goals. Without exception, where the district expectations were clearly understood, the principals appeared to be comfortable with expectations. As one principal explained, when he came into the district, he knew that he was expected to change the administrative style from a directive approach to one that achieves results without resistance. "This is the style in this district... you have to involve parents and set a certain tone of cooperation." Another newcomer to the same district who shared this understanding, described it this way: "You have to be a star to get into this district" Being a star meant being able to achieve success in a cooperative manner.

Some districts conveyed expectations about general goals, e.g. improvement in academic test scores; others about specific goals: implementation of heterogeneous grouping, whole language instruction, or site based management. As indicated above, some of these districts also conveyed expectations about leadership styles. When the district did not express clear expectations regarding style, the principal's had more flexibility. In cases where the principals adopted effective strategies, that flexibility was not problematic.

The principals discovered these expectations in a variety of ways. Outsiders developed an understanding of expectations through the selection and induction process or through their knowledge of the superintendent or district. In one district, the superintendent modeled the behaviors he expected and employed a collaborative, conversational tone. "He's available, he's a good listener, but he doesn't impose." The three principals interviewed from that district, insiders and outsiders, conveyed expectations in exactly the same way, using almost identical words and phrases.

In other cases, districts clearly stated their expectations and reinforce expectations through direct ongoing supervision. One principal reported that the superintendent "sat me down and step by step told me what she wanted to see." In only one case was there active, ongoing, and direct supervision. In this situation, the superintendent met regularly with the principal to review goals and progress, spoke with the principal regularly by phone, and expected to be informed when problems arose. At these regular meetings, the principals were expected to bring in initial goals and plans and then: " I have to tell him which I think are still feasible, which I don't think I'll be able to reach, and which are going splendidly. Then he wants an explanation of why I think what I think of each one." In the other districts, principals met annually with the superintendent to review goals and objectives but were largely ignored as long as no major problems developed.

School Conditions. The fourth but by far the most important factor influencing the principal's role behavior are school conditions, specifically academic success, school culture, organizational conditions, and social conditions.

Academic success. With respect to school conditions, academic success seems to be particularly influential in shaping principal action. If the school is successful, there is less need for change and fewer expectations that the principal will pursue change aggressively in whatever manner. In these schools, the goal is stability and incremental change, gradual movement toward the introduction of instructional, curricular, and process changes. In these schools, the teachers were effective if not remarkable, the environment was for the most part

satisfying to teachers and to students, relationships between teachers and principal were friendly, and parental satisfaction was high. As one principal explained, the fact that things were working well was an obstacle because there was no incentive to change.

Where the schools were not succeeding, however, where there was a felt need to improve performance, the actions the principal took were influenced by the conditions in the school. Moving into low achieving schools, principals encountered a number of problems relating to school's culture, organizational conditions, or social conditions. In one school obtrusive parental involvement was perceived as a major problem, but far less important than problems with staff and organization. The actions the principals took in response to these conditions in the school, however, were were mediated by the principal's interpretation of the problem.

School culture. One of the factors that seemed to have the most impact on principal actions was the culture of the school. If the culture of the school was supportive of change, those principals who wanted to work with teachers in a collaborative manner were able to do that. But, in five schools, entering principals greeted hostility and non-involvement that, with one exception, appeared to be a legacy of autocratic predecessors. In these schools, there was a lack of organizational and professional commitment that compounded the inadequacies in the technology of teaching. Teachers were not interested in cooperating or collaborating. The teachers used ineffective instructional techniques but were not interested in modifying their methods of instruction or curriculum because they didn't believe that they could influence student outcomes. The problem was with the students and parents and society, not with the school.

Confronted by this type of a problem, the responses that the principals chose were influenced by their interpretation of the problem. For example, one principal interpreted the hostility as a cultural phenomenon, i.e. that teacher behavior was an outgrowth of their prior experience. Her solution was to begin to develop a new culture by sharing her own ideas and values about schools and the role of the principal as a supporter and facilitator, by involving teachers in the work of the school, by listening, and by symbolic gestures. She felt that it was

important to establish trust as a means of moving toward her long range goal of a school community where teachers would be committed to change and willing to assume personal responsibility for its direction.

In another situation, the principal attributed the hostility to staff inadequacies. The principal expressed an understanding that the teachers in this school were upset at having lost the prior principal. She also identified differences between them regarding normative expectations. The previous principal, for example, maintained an open door policy that she interpreted as inefficient and unprofessional. However, this understanding wasn't incorporated into the problem interpretation nor the solution. The problem from her perspective was the staff - they didn't understand their roles, they didn't act like professionals, they weren't competent, they didn't demonstrate respect for the principal The response was to hold a series of meetings (over the course of two years) to inform the staff of her expectations and to develop regulations and procedures intended to establish standards and to insure conformity.

In two other parallel situations, the principals responded to the situation by adopting top-down techniques that were inconsistent with their own leadership visions while working to change the situation through a variety of techniques including modeling, staff development, support, and efforts to involve the staff in decision-making on an informal and formal basis.

In contrast, five other principals, in successful and unsuccessful schools, described walking into wonderful settings where everything was running well or ready for change. The principal who followed the demanding but benevolent dictator, explained that her predecessor had " left a wonderful legacy." Another explained that everything he needed was in place when he walked in: "We had all the ingredients to bake the cake. We just had to get it in the oven." Another followed a wonderful principal and entered a wonderful school. For her, it's just a question on improving what's already in place. For these principals the challenges were far different.

Organizational Conditions. The organizational conditions that principals encountered when they entered the schools differed. In several situations, principals entered schools where

the predecessor because of illness , a laissez-faire approach to administration, or simply a different perspective, had neglected routine administrative tasks, sometimes over a long period of time, or implemented policies and procedures that were ineffective or inappropriate. In these situations, the principals developed and implemented structural responses. In one of the clearest examples, the principal explained that all of the ingredients were in place: the teachers, the community, the kids. All he needed to do was to put it together. Although he saw the need to motivate teachers as key, his primary emphasis was on installing curriculum systems that included performance expectations and procedures for assessing outcomes.

In several schools in low SES areas, the principals entered schools where resources were inadequate. The early childhood center, for example, had been organized around an academic focus. It had desks rather than tables and chairs and none of the materials - blocks, sand and water boxes, learning centers, or manipulative materials-one would expect to find at that level.

For the most part, organizational problems were easily addressed and posed little challenge or frustration for the majority of the principals. Implementing procedures posed little problem because most changes responded to teacher needs and resources were surprisingly available, although getting them sometimes required hard work. In the early childhood center, the principal simply requested the furniture and materials she needed and they were provided by the district. In other schools, the principals actively and aggressively sought grants and gifts from the public and private organizations in the community and, with district support, were highly successful. In several instances, the principals were targeted to receive funds that had been earmarked for the district.

Social conditions. Social conditions in the community - specifically social, emotional, and financial deprivation and abuse- play an important role in determining school outcomes. While most principals in low and middle SES areas recognized the reality of their students' experience, social conditions were not usually central to the principals' interpretation of low test scores. In one case, the principal had been a teacher and assistant principal in the school

and succeeded her mentor and model who, while not a collaborative leaders, was a dedicated educator and effective administrator. From this stance, she had respect for the teachers and felt that they were committed to the school and to the education of children. The culture of the school revolved around service to children and was supportive of the transformational strategies that she wanted to implement. From her perspective, the major problem was the student's environment: the social, emotional, and financial deprivation that most experienced. While her goals were focused on improvement in student performance, her strategies were transformational. She met with teachers to discuss goals and share ideas. She presented problems for discussion and then, as she explained, they would sit down and thrash it out. She got teachers involved in sharing ideas by restructuring meeting schedules and formats and made it possible for teachers to observe one another. Another principal's emphasis on bringing resources into the school in order to expand the instructional program was also a response to the deprivation that children in her school experienced.

Principal Efficacy

As the interviews proceeded we began to notice that principals talked about their work in different ways. In some cases, the principals were unfailingly optimistic about their work and their ability to succeed, often surprisingly so given the school conditions. Although they were fully aware of problems confronting them, they spent little time talking about problems or frustrations. They emphasized their successes and strategies to resolve problems and move them further toward their goals. They have a deep conviction in their own ability to succeed and they were resourceful: "It's always do-able. You just need to find out how to do it." " I just had to find the key." " All it takes is work - leave no stone unturned." " If there's a problem, we handle it." "If there's a problem, we solve it."

This optimism was particularly noticeable in one school located in what appeared to be the middle of a war zone. Vacant lots, barbed wire, and stripped cars surrounded the area and a murder had taken place on an adjacent street the day before our arrival. Conditions in the school were no better. The building was old, dilapidated, dreary, and depressing, yet the

principal spoke enthusiastically and optimistically about her work: " I love it, you've got to love it or you're dead." She loved her work and was optimistic about her ability to succeed in this situation: "Things are looking better, it seems to be working."

In every interview, we asked principals to describe failures as well as successes. In many of these situations, the principals were unable to identify failures and when they did, they re-framed these "failures" as challenges. As one principal responded: " I'm getting short term loss of memory. As I was driving to work this morning, I was focusing in on all the things.. and now what can I remember?. Where haven't I been successful? I want to get more computers in the building." Several couldn't think of anything despite adequate wait time on our part: "I can't really think of anything - I don't really have something that stands out." In another situation, the principal's perceived lack of success went beyond the normal role expectations. The principal felt that she had been unsuccessful in getting resources to parents who come in with problems, but even there she proceeded to describe a series of actions she was taking relative to that objective.

Similarly, when asked to describe the obstacles to their success, many were unable to identify important obstacles and few spent more than a few moments responding to the question before they once again began talking about their goals and their strategies to reach those goals. Their focus, what they wanted to talk about, was the changes that were taking place, the aspects of the system that provided support, and the strategies that they had developed to surmount the obstacles. Although there are frustrations and problems in the job, they focused on progress; "Have I run into trouble? Yes. Have I run into people who don't want to go with the program? Definitely. But, all in all, I think it's been successful." They feel successful: "Things are really beginning to happen." " I've been able to do things that I always thought should be in a school for kids." They talk about the many things that they've accomplished in the school and those lists tend to be long.

Principals who experienced a high sense of efficacy were more comfortable with setbacks. They defined failures or lack of progress as a realistic aspect of the job rather than

as an indictment about their own competency: "You don't always win but you win as many as you can." They may occasionally feel discouraged, but they adjust their expectations: "You feel like you're not fast enough, you're not right on target. I had to learn to slow down. I wanted to walk Wednesday, have it fixed by Friday. And I've learned that if I have it fixed by next Sunday, that's not too bad." Even when confronted with obstacles or failures, they use these experiences to their advantage. One principal described a loss of special program funds for the school as "dumb luck" because it provided him with an opportunity to get rid of a problem teacher. Even the loss of art and music programs was not viewed as a problem because they needed to focus all of their resources on improving academic outcomes.

This feeling of competence was not universal, however. In several cases, the principals were clearly discouraged and less optimistic about their ability to succeed in the particular school. For them, the principalship was more of a struggle than a challenge. They described loneliness, emotional rides, anger, the heavy pressure of accountability. In some cases, they expressed tentative or mixed feelings about their ability to succeed: "I wonder if all the training has been enough." They were also more ambivalent about assessing their effectiveness, sometimes expressing confidence in their approach, other times questioning their efficacy.

These principals were more likely to emphasize obstacles, describe aspects of their work where they were not successful, and more likely to define the change process as a difficult and demanding rather than challenging and rewarding. While some of their colleagues focused on successes, these principals concentrated on the problems and frustrations. One principal's description of the first year, for example, presented one frustration after another: "It took my whole first year just to make everyone understand what their jobs were. I had meetings after meetings.. over and over again." The SBM meetings were marked by "constant arguments, hostility, conflicts, nothing getting accomplished, no focus. Parents and teachers grouped against one another. People were very bitter." SBM was finally voted out. Staff vacancies went unfilled for over four years.

Conceptually, these attitudes represent differences in the principals' sense of efficacy.

This concept, commonly used in studies of teacher and student behavior, refers to an individual's perceived competence or an ability to be effective in the particular context or in the role in general. For example, teacher efficacy refers to two independent dimensions: a sense that they can influence student learning in the particular context and a more general assessment of their ability as a teacher. Using this framework with principals, efficacy would refer to the principals' sense that they can influence the direction of the particular school.

Of the 12 principals, using the criteria of optimism, perceived success, and positive orientation, we classified 6 principals as highly efficacious. Of the remainder, only one principal represented an extremely low level of efficacy. The remainder presented mixed feelings: while their situations were not the worst neither were they very good.

Personal and Contextual Factors Linked with Efficacy

In comparing principals with high and low efficacy, we determined that there was no relationship between SES, academic success, or school size and sense of efficacy: the six efficacious principals were evenly divided among very low, low, and middle SES schools or varying sizes. Nor did the sense of efficacy seem to be reality-based. The problems confronted by the less efficacious principals were not notably different from others, and the changes they implemented were as numerous as their more efficacious colleagues. There were several factors that seemed to distinguish principals with high and low efficacy: behavioral consistency, flexibility, consideration, and support.

Insert Figure 2 about here

Behavioral Consistency. Those principals who had high efficacy, in general, acted in ways that were consistent with their leadership paradigm; and, through their actions, they were able to achieve the goals they had established. There was a high level of congruence between what they had hoped to do and what they were able to do, both with respect to specific goals and leadership processes. Their personal expectations were appropriate to the context and the

principals were able to act as they intended and to experience success as a result. Two of the highly efficacious principals, for example, envisioned themselves as instructional and collaborative leaders. They entered schools that were academically successful and culturally progressive. They were expected to progress in an incremental manner and they were satisfied with that role. In these situations, their goals and expectations were suitable to the context.

Flexibility. Other principals in this category achieved a level of consistency by revising their expectations and adapting their strategies in response to the existing conditions. One principal, for example, came from a school that was a community where the principal and teachers worked together for common goals. She envisioned the same for herself; but when she entered a school where the conditions were very different, she adjusted her goals to correspond with the situation. Rather than trying to push instructional goals at the outset, she first focused on improving the culture of the school.

Those principals who were low in efficacy were individuals who had entered the principalship with clearly established goals and expectations regarding how they would function as principals in order to achieve those goals. In contrast to their colleagues, however, many of these found that it was not possible for them to enact their leadership paradigms or to experience success in accomplishing their intended objectives. Principals who were low in efficacy seemed less able to adjust their goals and strategies to fit the context: when they encountered obstacles, usually staff resistance, they steadfastly maintained their initial, and, within the specific context, somewhat unrealistic expectations. Rather than focusing on their accomplishments, they assessed their progress relative to their own high standards and found themselves to be wanting. One principal, for example, perceived herself as a collaborative instructional leader and wanted to move a highly traditional school to a progressive one in a relatively short period of time. While she made dramatic changes in the physical facilities, she met extreme resistance from the teachers who steadfastly rejected any efforts to introduce them to new ideas about curriculum or instruction. In response, she began to adopt autocratic methods, in sharp contrast with her leadership paradigm. She has been successful in gradually

moving forward, possibly extremely successful given the conditions of the school, and she has begun to act in a way consistent with her own values; but she does not perceive herself as efficacious.

The principal in the sample who had the lowest sense of efficacy, basically abandoned her vision when she entered the school and adopted a set of goals and strategies that were completely incongruent with her espoused goals and vision of leadership. Asked about her goals when she became principal, she responded: "I had none. I was told [by parent leaders] not to let any of the children know I was principal." Now, three years into the position, she described the impossibility of achieving her vision that was to be the instructional leader: " I was going to be involved in learning activities in the classroom, I'd be working with teachers improving their skills. I'd know the name of every child in the school. I had a vision of parent involvement and having them in the building as much as possible. I had a vision of SBM being wonderful. But that's not what any of this was. I still have that vision, but you can't attain that vision unless you have an organized environment. You just can't have a vision in chaos."

Consideration. Highly efficacious principals adopted many if not all of the transformational behaviors in their efforts to move their schools toward change. They adopted value-added strategies and incorporated them into their leadership behavior even though other aspects of their paradigm were rooted in other leadership models. In contrast with less efficacious principals, they did not require changes without the support of staff. They recognized that teachers were not ready to accept certain ideas and intentionally chose not to push change until they were able to convince teachers of the need. When teachers realized the need for them, principals would involve them in determining the solutions. Those principals who were less efficacious tried to implement changes in practices or procedures that teachers were unwilling to accept and did not find strategies that were successful in garnering their support.

Support. Another important factor that related to the principals' sense of efficacy was support. Those with high efficacy expressed high levels of support and identified practically no

significant obstacles to their success. Three, those with low efficacy, expressed low levels of support and identified many obstacles. The other three (moderate efficacy) indicated a mixture of support and obstacles.

Insert Table 2 about here

Principals with a high sense of efficacy identified multiple sources of support from school personnel, district personnel, their colleagues in and out of the district, and from predecessors and mentors. In one case, school board members personally supported the principal's efforts prior to and following his appointment. In others, to varying degrees, the superintendent provided direct support. One principal provided a striking illustration of the way in which her superintendent supported her and other new principals in the district: "He didn't just say 'good luck' . We received letters - if you really want to do a good job and you really want some support, I'm going to set up some training session and you will know everything the district expects from you' and we really did." They were also told about the district's vision and goals and the needs of the school-what were the needs of school - you got really honest profiles of the school. You didn't get something sweet so you wouldn't run. And that helped, because you knew what you were walking into." The district also assigned a district liaison: "When you had a problem, you called that person and they better respond and help you. And that was wonderful. And you were also assigned a buddy principal... How many superintendents give you a buddy principal, a district liaison, workshops. Nobody felt like they were floating in limbo."

While this was the most extensive support system provided by the district specifically for new principals, for many of the principals, the district personnel - from deputy superintendents to curriculum specialists- provided direct and ongoing support. They provided help with budgeting problems, they provided information on available grants, they developed workshops to support principals' initiatives, they identified materials and resources. In some

cases, the districts supported principals' efforts to remove teachers from the staff. The six satisfied principals all felt that their superintendents were very supportive. Most of them all described additional support from the other district office personnel. The district offices provided practically no obstacles for them.

Many of the principals also found a great deal of support within their own schools from assistant principals, instructional specialists assigned to various projects, from teachers, from the UFT chairperson, from parents, from secretarial staff. Some principals were also able to rely on other principals for advice: principals from within the district, other new principals they had met through the mentoring program, principals who had served as their predecessors and mentors. All but one alluded to multiple mentors and role models.

In contrast, those principals who had a low sense of efficacy identified fewer sources of support. Their lists of obstacles were numerous, site support almost nonexistent, and they often described key individuals such as superintendent, district administrators, predecessor, teachers, segments of the parent population, and union representative either as non-supportive, unavailable, or as obstacles. For one principal, the colleagues were willing but unavailable: "we're all so busy. We're just tired." The superintendent was also busy and not interested in his problems. "He'll refer me." When he does, sometimes "I run into a brick wall with them. When I go to argue my case, I get no where." The three least satisfied principals considered the superintendent an obstacle with two of the three alienated from the rest of the district office personnel; the third had a mixed reaction to district office personnel.

The feeling of being supported reduces the sense of isolation and loneliness, facilitates risk-taking, and strengthens a sense of confidence: Describing her ease at calling the district for advice on problems and comparing her situation with other principals, the principal cited above commented: "on tough calls, I didn't feel afraid.. I have friends in other districts. They really feel isolated and they felt that if you called anybody else you looked stupid or they'd think you didn't know what you're doing. We were encouraged and we really did call - we called each other and things you just didn't even think would happened." Another principal commented that

"the loneliness would be there if it were an adversarial situation, but there are so many people here that I can lean on for support and are so willing to give it."

Whether or not a principal has a support system seems to be affected by a number of factors: the entry path, district stability, and individual differences. In three of the six cases, principals were insiders who had spent much if not all of their careers in the same district. During this time, they had developed a base of support with individuals in the district. A fourth had spent only a few years in the district before being appointed as principal, but, as he had in each of his prior appointments, he made a point to develop relationships with his superiors and colleagues. As he explained: "People who came from outside the district are a lot more lonely. Even as an assistant principal here, I always had a network of people I could call. I have developed a network and I also knew what would fly with the superintendent from having worked in the district. This guy is terrific but his approach is very, very different. The support networks for those who entered the district as outsiders were somewhat different: less personal, somewhat less extensive, and more likely to include non-district personnel. Nevertheless, the outsiders who experienced a sense of efficacy had a strong sense of support.

The level of support also seems to be influenced by district conditions, particularly stability. Where there is little turnover within key positions within the district, it is easier for principals, particularly insiders, to develop personal relationships with individuals who can provide support. Four of the six high efficacy principals were located in districts where there had been no turnover in the superintendency in the past 3-5 years or more. There had been turnover in the other two districts with replacements occurring after their first two years; one was a retirement, the other was a contract challenge. In these two cases, the principals had extensive support networks within and without the district that may have insulated them from the effects of this instability. When the district is in flux, it becomes more difficult. As one principal explained: "The support is there but it's hard because there's such flux at district level that by the time you form that relationship, it's gone." At the same time, principals in districts with frequent turnover at the central office level develop their

support system wherever possible, often relying heavily on support from within the school and community.

Principals' access to support is also affected by the extent to which they understand the political dimensions of their work, recognize the need for networking, and actively pursue the development of a network, and perhaps also by interpersonal skills. While it seems to take outsiders longer to develop strong relationships within the new district, some outsiders in this study were able to rely on extensive networks they had developed in prior settings.

Summary and Discussion

All of the principals entered with a vision and a conception of how they wanted to function as principal. "analyzing changes in metaphors over time," Beck and Murphy (1992) reported that " virtually every new conception of educational leadership is introduced into the literature with images from the preceding period...Over time, the metaphors shift and become more consistent with the ideas being promoted" (p. 392). The paradigms of leadership that the principals described, with two exceptions, included aspects of different approaches. It was difficult to categorize principal behavior because intentions and actions would reflect different paradigms. Principals who present themselves as instructional leaders prove to be transformational. Leaders who describe themselves as partners working with teachers, parents, and students view collaboration as a means to achieve their personal goals rather than a technique for engaging teachers as influential colleagues in the development of and achievement of common purposes. The engage in transformational activities but still retain traditional notions about who exercises control and who is ultimately responsible for decisions. While the leadership paradigms includes traces of transformational leadership, there was only one case in which the principal's intentions and actions were consistently transformational. With respect to transformational leadership, principals seem to understand the behavioral implications but to have only a partial grasp of the underlying conceptual framework. They have a clear picture of what they should do, but only a vague or partial understanding of the underlying rationale. These visions and paradigms remained stable during the first few years of the principalship,

but the actions of the principals were not always congruent with their intentions.

The actions in which the principals engaged were influenced by their beliefs or leadership paradigms. These paradigms, for the most part, seemed to be most influenced by personal experience: particularly an opportunity to work with an effective and admired principal. Actions however, were more likely to be influenced by contextual factors: particularly district expectations, academic success, and school culture.

Principals in the study were clearly distinguished by their sense of efficacy. Principals who experienced themselves as competent and successful in achieving their stated objectives were different from their less efficacious colleagues in a number of respects. They adopted principles of situational leadership: they examined existing conditions and chose appropriate strategies. For whatever reasons, they were more skilled in problem solving, and specifically in problem interpretation. They maintained their visions but developed strategies that were consistent with their paradigm but also appropriate to the situation. They seemed more concern with overcoming obstacles and achieving objectives than with adhering to a preconceived notion of what is acceptable. The less efficacious principals seem unable to shift gears. Because they perceive fewer options, they tend to persist in a set course of action.

The efficacious principals also had a more positive and future-oriented perspective. They were aware of aware of problems and obstacles but focused on accomplishments and future goals. They regarded obstacles as challenges that could be surmounted with an appropriate strategy and were able to find the silver lining behind even the grayest cloud. In contrast, principals with low efficacy displayed a number of consistent patterns: They were less confident of their ability to succeed in the particular context and obstacles dominated their perspective. Their horizon was obscured by clouds and they were unable to appreciate their own accomplishments.

In terms of the context, what differentiated these principals was the level of support that they experienced. SES and school conditions per se had little effect on principals' sense of efficacy except in those instances where changes required district support and that support was

not forthcoming. Those with high efficacy experienced a high level of support from multiple sources. Frequently, the support was not only functional but personal: the principals had personal relationships with individuals who provided support. Those with low efficacy had fewer sources of support and received less support. In contrast with their colleagues, they did not feel that people cared about them on a personal level. They were lonely.

The principals high in efficacy had had an opportunity to work with principals who were effective. With this model in mind, they were able to integrate effective aspects into their own role behavior and adapt them to fit their own values and beliefs. Those role models for those principals who were low in efficacy were partial or ineffective; and they themselves were not highly effective in enlisting staff support for their mission.

Transformational leadership comes in many shapes and forms. While it may not appear in a pure form, it informs leader behavior and can be detected in other leadership models. Not all of the highly efficacious principals were transformation in beliefs or intent, but they did incorporate transformational strategies into their administrative repertoires. In particular they demonstrated what Leithwood (1993) describes as the basis for transformational leadership, individual consideration.

Conclusions

Efficacy is an important dimension of work behavior that has not received adequate consideration with respect to the principalship. A high sense of teacher efficacy is associated with involvement in and successful implementation of change projects (Gibson & Dembo, 1984, Berman & McLaughlin, 1978). Studies of student efficacy find a positive relationship between an individual's sense of competence, or efficacy, and the level of task engagement. The need to experience competence is a basic motivational need, as is the need for relatedness ; and the organizational structures and processes influence the extent to which individuals experience these basic needs (Connell & Wellborn, 1989; Maehr, 1991).

The importance of organizational support, and district support, in particular, is recognized (Hart, 1993; Jentz, 1982) but still underemphasized in research and practice. As

Hart suggests, support is important in influencing principals' sense of efficacy, and the district - through its selection, orientation, and supervision processes- can provide support and help principals to establish support networks.

While district support is important, principals can develop effective strategies to deal with many of the obstacles that they encounter. The findings also help to identify the importance of certain skills for effective leadership with implications for the preparation of principals. The findings here reinforce the importance of political and analytic skills for effective leadership. Prospective principals should understand that networking and development of supportive relations impacts on their effectiveness. Administrative preparation programs should emphasize the political dimensions of leadership (Bolman & Deal, 1992 ; Osterman et al, 1993). Principals should also be skilled in cultural analysis (Hart, 1993), and they should receive training in problem analysis enabling them to develop a broader framework for analyzing and interpreting problems(Leithwood et al, 1990; Leithwood, 1993). In addition, principals should be encouraged to develop and assess alternative strategies with a view toward developing conceptual complexity and expanding their administrative repertoire (Hart, 1990

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TABLE 1

School Demographics

School level	Facilities	Satisfaction	Population	Socio-economic status	Ethnicity
Elementary	poor	high	1800	very low	50% Latino 40% African-american
Elementary	poor	high	1200	low	Carribean African-american
Elementary	poor	low	1172	low middle, low	54.8% Latino 20.5% Caucasian 17.3% Asian 7.4% African-american
Elementary	poor	high	860	very low	70% African-american 30% Latino
Elementary	good	high	665	upper-middle,middle	70% Caucasian 16% Asian 10% Latino 4% African-american
Elementary	very good	high	600	upper-middle,middle	59% Asian 20% Causcasian 15% African-american 6% Latino
Elementary	good	mixed/low	521	middle	48% Asian 26% Caucasian 22% Latino 4% African-american
Elementary	poor	mixed/low	519	low middle	48% Caucasian 24% Latino 20% Asian 8% African-american
Elementary Pre-K-1	poor	low	200	very low	Latino African-american
Middle	very good	high	1200	low	Carribean African-american
Middle	moderate	mixed	1138	middle, low middle	45% Caucasian 45% Latino/ African-amer. 10% Chinese
Middle		mixed/low	950	very low	65% African-american 35% Latino

TABLE 2a

Support and Obstacles

	District		School		
	Support	**Obstacles**	**Support**	**Obstacles**	**Mentor/Model**
1. High	Superintendent DO personnel	Beaurocracy Resources for kids	Staff Climate Organ. condition Administrators UFT chapter chair Parents	School size	Predecessor Bank St. mentor Husband Principals
2. High	Superintendent DO personnel Resources		Staff Climate Organ. condition Administrators UFT chapter chaïr Parents	UFT contract	Predecessor Bank St. mentor Principals
3. High	Superintendent		Staff Most parents UFT chapter chair		Mother Internship principal Bank St. mentor Principals
4. High	Superintendent DO personnel		Assistant principal Parents UFT chapter chair	Previous principal Climate Societal/social problems	Previous principal Bank St. mentor Friends
5. High	Superintendents Community school board DO personnel Resources		Staff Parents Administrative staff UFT chapter chair		Former principal Bank St. mentor
6. High	Superintendent Resources		Staff Parents UFT chapter chair Predecessor Custodian Assistant Principal	Inability to choose own staff	Previous deputy superintendent Theory/literature
7. Moderate	Superintendent DO personnel	UFT chapter chair UFT contract Bureaucracy Resources innac-cessible location	Parents Most staff	Predecessor Teachers & administrators with jr. high mentality	Previous principal Theory/literature

TABLE 2b

Support and Obstacles

	District		School		
	Support	**Obstacles**	**Support**	**Obstacles**	**Mentor/Model**
8. Moderate	Superintendent's initiatives Some DO personnel	Resources Budget cuts	Specialists Custodian UFT chapter chair	Veteran staff Asian parents	Former principal Bank St. mentor
9. Moderate	Some DO personnel	Superintendent Central and district boards District inefficiencies	Bank St. mentor Facilitators UFT chapter chair Parents Most staff	Some staff Organizational condition	Former superintendent
10. Low	Some DO personnel	Superintendent - inaccessible Some DO personnel	Parents	Staff Predecessor Former PA president Facilities Organizational conditions AP turnover	Bank St. mentor Couple principals
11. Low	Some Resources	Superintendent DO personnel		Staff Predecessor Some parents UFT chapter chair Climate Organizational conditions	Original Bank St. mentor Two principals
12. Very low		Superintendent DO personnel	Administrative staff Some new staff	Staff Predecessor Organizational conditions Climate Some parents Facilities UFT contract UFT chapter chair	Previous supt/principal Father

Figure 1: Factors influencing Principal Role Behavior

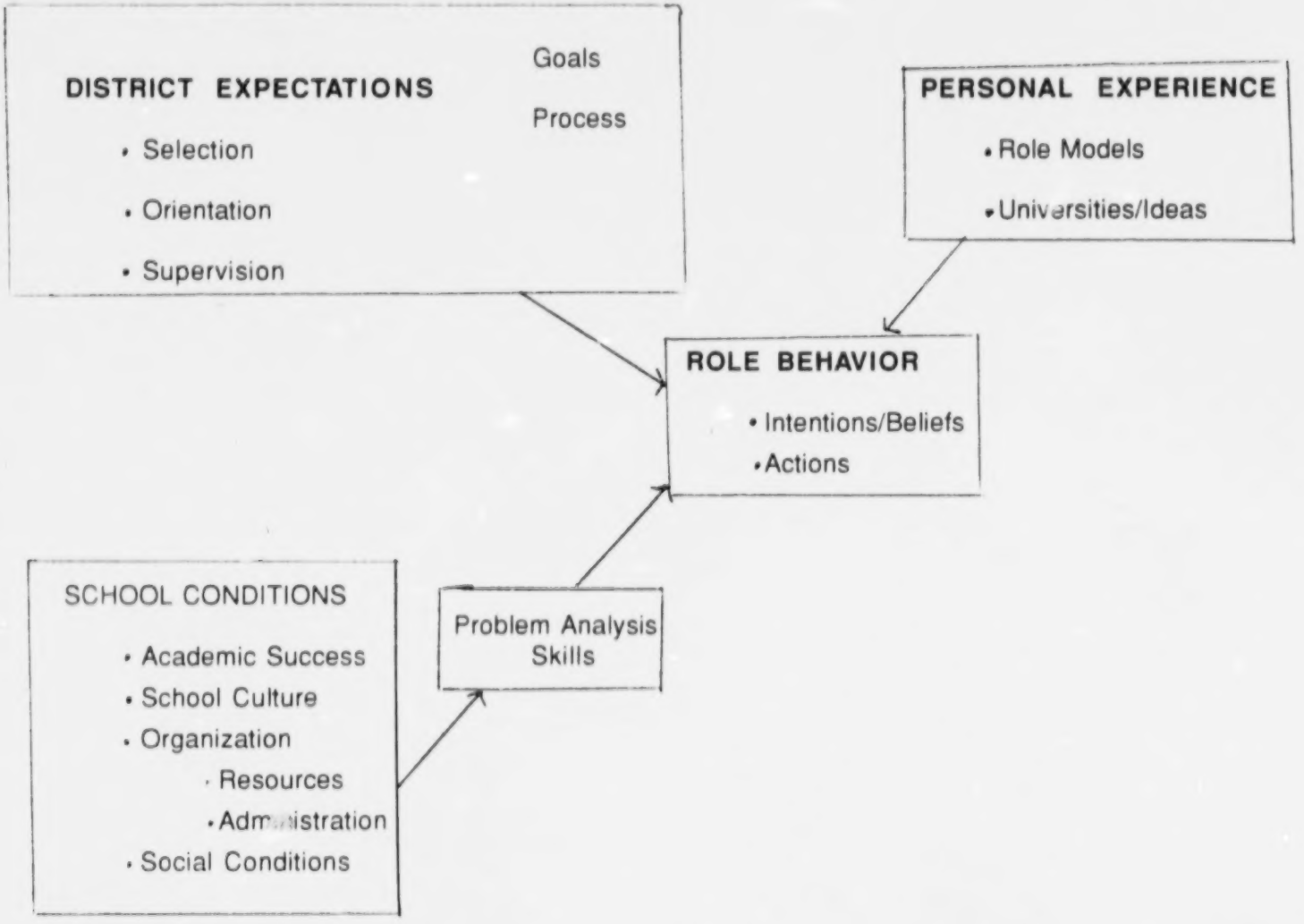

Figure 2: Factors Influencing Principal Efficacy